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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
NATIONAL FOREIGN ASSESSMENT CENTER18 December 1981
Information as of 1230DCI BRIEFING NOTE: POLAND

We have little information about popular reaction to Wednesday's killings or about the status of strikes today. The US Consul in Krakow has unconfirmed reports that miners at the Wujek mine, where 7 were killed on Wednesday, took three hostages and retreated underground where provisions are stored. The miners have announced that they will fight "until victorious." The army, according to rumors in Warsaw, is refusing to carry out any further orders at the coal mine. [REDACTED]

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Pravda today ran more sharp criticism of the US position on Poland, claiming that US leaders had lost "equilibrium" and forgotten that Poland is a member of the Warsaw Pact, not NATO. TASS international service, in Russian, is now carrying an even more sharply worded retort to President Reagan's remarks yesterday. The communique ridiculed the President's claim that Solidarity sympathizers were Polish "freedom fighters." It charged that the US government had given "direct instructions" to counterrevolutionaries to prepare an armed uprising. It called the US proposal for negotiations in Poland "a demand to grant complete freedom" to counterrevolutionaries and claimed that the administration is counting on famine to place pressure on the Polish regime. The communique also indirectly criticized the role of the Vatican by saying that the US government wished to use it "for whipping up of the anti-Polish campaign." The TASS summary to North America, however, highlighted the less polemical statements, reminding the West that the post-Afghanistan economic boycott had been a failure. [REDACTED]

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TASS also reported in English, after a full day's delay, the deaths of miners in Silesia and placed the full blame on the strikers, including some "outsiders," who attacked the security forces. It is still not clear whether this report has been replayed within the USSR. Soviet domestic media have tried to picture the Polish internal situation as improving, though it did report the demonstrations and casualties in Gdansk yesterday after some delay. [REDACTED]

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DIA review(s) completed.

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State Dept. review
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25X1 A close adviser to Jaruzelski yesterday gave a US Embassy officer an inside look at the thinking that is guiding Poland's military rulers. His presentation strongly suggests that the military has no plans for seeking a political resolution to the crisis. [REDACTED]

25X1 In his presentation, the adviser (Wieslaw Gornicki) played down the significance of Solidarity, saying its influence had been overestimated. He admitted that it would not be easy to regain the confidence of interned intellectuals without giving any reasons for why the military rulers thought their arrests were necessary. [REDACTED]

25X1 When asked how the regime hoped to win over the population by repression, Gornicki said he believed Poland's "silent majority" will accept or grudgingly admit the need for compulsion. He said that force has historically served communism and that compulsion may again work in Poland to reduce absenteeism and thus improve productivity. This analysis ignores the fact that the drop in productivity over the past year is due much more to the lack of raw materials and energy than to absenteeism and that Polish workers, although in the factories, will respond to the harsh measures by slowdowns or sabotage, so-called "Italian strikes." [REDACTED]

25X1 Gornicki's claim, repeated several times, that Jaruzelski will continue reforms rings hollow. The needed reforms rely heavily on popular good will and will fail miserably if they are imposed from above. [REDACTED]

25X1 Gornicki denied that there was Soviet pressure to introduce martial law, even disingenuously asserting that Moscow was not consulted. He, however, specifically pointed to Soviet fears of "encirclement" and that Poland is a crucial area for Soviet communism, suggesting that the Soviet position was central in the Polish regime's thinking. [REDACTED]

25X1 Moscow may well have applied considerable pressure on Warsaw to deny charges of Soviet instigation circulating in the press yesterday. The Kremlin may also be annoyed by the statements to US officials by Polish Foreign Minister Czyrek and other Polish officials strongly implying Russian pressure. [REDACTED]

25X1 The Soviets have assiduously sought to deny their own involvement in Polish affairs while criticizing Washington for its interference. Gornicki's comments that Jaruzelski is still genuinely committed to renewal, if they are not only for Western consumption, would also disturb the Soviet leadership, which

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surely feels that Poland must emasculate Solidarity and reassert unchallenged party control. [REDACTED]

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In a crude effort to exert pressure on the US government, Gornicki said that the authorities had found "explosive" documents in their search of Solidarity headquarters in Warsaw that demonstrate "deep foreign involvement" in the union. He said the authorities did not want to publish these letters in order to avoid further "conflagration" which could threaten European security. He said that it was his sincere hope that all countries, especially the US, would not be tempted to seek "little propaganda victories" but consider instead long-range historical transformations. [REDACTED]

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Military Highlights

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There is no evidence of Soviet mobilization of reservists in the Moscow area. Our attache there reports no activity at the Moscow draft board and normal activity at major offices in the city this morning. [REDACTED]

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A Soviet naval infantry detachment from the Baltic Fleet has been located in northwest Poland since 10 December. The unit may be there to protect the Soviet naval base in Swinoujscie. [REDACTED]

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